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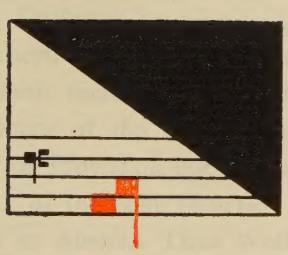

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CONTENTS

Lutheran composers in the Hapsburg empire 1525-1732
Hans Joachim Moser 3

Some Music Treatises and their Interrelation. A School of Liége c. 1050-1200 ?
Jos. Smits Van Waesberghe 25

Pierre Attaingnant, notes et documents.
François Lesure 33

LUTHERAN COMPOSERS IN THE HAPSBURG EMPIRE 1525-1732[1]

I.

Hans Joachim Moser

Obviously what interests us here in speaking of « Lutheran » is not so much the religious denomination of the individual (which, at best, forms a part of his biography), but the artistic activity on behalf of the Protestant faith of those days within the realm of the crown of Hapsburg. There results a noteworthy and new chapter of music history excavated, like another Pompei, from under the pile of ashes and lava of the Counter-Reformation. Of particular interest is the fact that the musicians freely moved from one country to another. Many Protestant *Kantoren* and organists migrated from the Lutheran provinces of North and Middle Germany to as far as the southern border of the German language, contributing to a fascinating Germanic racial mixture in locations that later came under the exclusive influence of the southern catholicism. To be sure, there were also a number of Protestant-born musicians who in the course of the confessional conflict of the time returned to the Catholic Church, thus finding a new home in Austria. Thus Wolfgang Schmelz (the well-known collector of quodlibets) from Kemnat in the Upper Palatine became Roman priest of St. Laurence Church at Steinfeld, and Andreas Fromm, Pomeranian composer of oratorios, became professor at Prague; J. J. Froberger, the great pupil of Frescobaldi, exchanged Stuttgart for Vienna, and Procopius went from Templin in Brandenburg to Salzburg, Linz, and Vienna; Caspar Kerll from Aadorf in Upper Saxony settled in Vienna and Munich, after he had been converted in Rome; and Albinus

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[1] The present article is a short excerpt from a book by the author, written in 1938-41, but not yet printed.

Editor's note: Owing to difficulties during the past months in communications with the Russian Zone of Germany, the proofs of this article were not seen by the author. After with-holding the article for a considerable time, the editor decided to publish it anyhow, for it contains an abundance of information and new material.

Fabricius from Görlitz wrote many-voice motets for St. Lambert in Upper Styria.

Much greater, however, is the number of Austrian musicians who were driven from their homes by the impact of the Counter-Reformation and were compelled to seek a new place of activity in the « kleindeutsche Reich ». This is seen in numerous entries made around 1620 and 1730 in the town records of Saxony and Franconia. « Um des Glaubens willen exuliert », they occur in the ancestral reports of Bach and Handel, and as late as 1732 the Thomas-cantor Johann Sebastian honored emigrants passing from Salzburg through Leipzig with an immortal composition, his solo cantata for bass « Ich will den Kreuzstab gerne tragen ».

I. The Period of Charles V and Ferdinand I (1525-64).

Despite occasional vigorous interference by the Catholic Church, in this period the Lutheran movement made considerable headway in the Alpine provinces through the powerful influence of the nobility and the burghers. Today it is difficult to realize that for several decades the famous *Hornwerk* of the castle of Graz was permitted to sound every evening the Lutheran melodies of « Ein feste Burg » and « Erhalt uns, Herr, bei deinem Wort ». Luther's poems were alive among the miners of the silver mines at Schwaz in Tyrol, in the schools of Bruck on the Mur and of Graz. New poems were written to their melodies in honor of Protestant martyrs, for instance of Leonhard Kaiser who was burnt at Schärding in 1527; and Arnold von Bruck, chapel master of the Viennese court (!), composed the Protestant poem, « Kommt her zu mir, spricht Gottes Sohn », of the cobbler Georg Grünewald who died at the stake in 1530 in Kufstein. (Lassus also harmonized Lutheran melodies in the strictly Catholic city of Munich.) Around 1550 Lutheran melodies were sung during the service in twenty-three Austrian localities, as we know from visiting reports. New paraphrases were written in honor of the drowned Baptists of Bruck and Leoben, and in 1548 Christof Hüeber wrote a mastersong on the execution of the Protestant cobbler Hans Gurzhaim in Vienna.

As is well known, the Master Song has mostly relied on the lay Bible. Thus, the statutes of the « Iglau School » from the end of the 16th century show an unmistakably Protestant character. Hans Sachs entertained personal relationships with the « Liebhabern der edlen Kunst » in Schwaz and Gastein, and master singer tablatures from Styria have been found in Dresden, Vienna, and Munich. Among the master songs of Protestant

Austrians those of the Styrian file-cutter Severin Kriegsauer excel, for instance his « Posthornweise » and « Nachtweise », or the « Neujahrlied » and the « Frönweise » - they are all lively and beautiful. I have found outstanding examples of the Viennese Master Song in manuscripts from Breslau, for instance the « Verschlossene Ton » of Karl Veit.

The new creed manifested itself also among the polyphonists. Thomas Stoltzer, born in Schweidnitz (died 1526 at Móhács) composed in Ofen four German psalms in Luther's translation for Maria of Hapsburg, queen of Hungary. His composition of Hans Sachs' poem « O Gott Vater, du hast Gewalt » (a Protestant contrafactum of Adam von Fulda's « Ach Juppiter ») also belongs into this context. In Böhmisch-Leipa we find Balthasar Resinarius, who was born in Tetschau, and who died in 1546 as a Protestant minister. He was one of the main collaborators of the music press of Wittenberg, for which he contributed numerous Offices, Responsories, and compositions of German chorales. The ecstatic character of his style (which conforms to the general temperament of the Sudeten-Germans) appears upon a close analysis of the text-music relationship in his compositions. Of the greatest importance in this group is Arnold von Bruck, who died 1554 at Linz. Although a prebend of the cathedral of Laibach, he showed unmistakable sympathy for the Lutheran cause.

Particularly interesting is the Latin compendium of music written by Johannes Zanger, a native of Innsbruck, who finally became a cantor in Braunschweig. He was a personal pupil of Heinrich Finck, Arnold von Bruck, Stephan Mahu, and Johannes Langkusch, all of whom were members of the chapel of the Imperial Court. He gives a very lively description of a conversation, among others, between these masters and Erasmus Lapicida (died 1519) on Josquin's method of tempo notation[2].

Very likely Benedict Ducis played an important role in the early religious wars of Austria. In Friedrich Spitta's biography there is a gap between Ducis' last appearance in Vienna in 1522, and his wretched reappearance in 1532 as a minister and « proper veritatem exsul » in Schmalkalden near Ulm. Perhaps the solution of this problem is found in his « Ich glaub, und darum red ich », (of which apparently also the text was written by himself), with its ecstatic closing line: « Den Kelch des Heils ich nehme ». It seems as though in that obscure decade he took upon himself the lot of a wandering preacher. In Rhaw's *Schulgesänge* of 1544

[2] The author should like to reserve for himself the right to publish a new edition of this book.

he is represented with no less than seven compositions of Lutheran melodies. About the Protestant school master and composer Johannes Muling-Stomius of Salzburg (born in Bellesrait near Passau) the author has given rather detailed information elswhere[3].

Schellhorn, in his *Chronik der Salzburger Evangelischen* (1732), mentions him, and here we draw attention to his significant didactic composition based on John Hus' song « Jesus Christus nostra salus », (in Ms, Regensburg, Proske). Finally we must mention Leonhard Päminger in Passau (born in Anschau, Upper Austria) because of his friendly relations with the reformers of Wittenberg. In an earlier work[4] the author repeatedly called attention to Pämingers activity, and as a result several of his compositions have been reprinted in full score.

II. The Period of Maximilian II, Rudolf II, and the Emperor Mathias.

(1564 - 1619)

Maximilian, the « Protestant on the Imperial Throne, » as Schiller called him, was closely connected with the musicians of his day, as appears from sundry dedications as well as from the apprehensive complaint of his father, the emperor Ferdinand, that he cared too much about music: facts which characterize him as the first of those crowned musicians and patrons of music known to us from Guido Adler's *Kaiserwerke*. P. Maessenus paid him homage in 1549 with his *Cantiones* II; the city trumpeters, Bartholomaeus and Paul Hess, who had been called from Styria to Breslau, dedicated their voluminous collection of instrumental dances to him; the mighty *Thesaurus musicus* of Joanellus bears his name; Ivo de Vento presented him with motets in 1571; and Johannes Hagius in Eger set to music his *symbolum*: « Der Herr wird mein Vorsteher sein. » Above all, however, the « brothers of Fulneck and Landskron » dedicated to him their magnificent song book of 1566. In a curious popular etymology they combined the terms of « Begharden » and « Picardie » into the title « Pickarden, » a terminology which occurs also in the *Trigapicardiana* (Ms Liegnitz) composed by Samuel Besler in Breslau for the Duke of Liegnitz.

Although the capital of Bohemia, the Prague of de Monte, Regnart,

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[3] *P. Hofhaimer*, 1928.
[4] *Die mehrstimmige Vertonung des Evangeliums*, 1930.

and J. Gallus, remained at first predominantly catholic, the smaller places along the border of Bohemia fell all the more under Protestant influence. Val. Rabe, the younger, an industrious composer of motets, was active in Wistritz near Kadau first as a Protestant cantor, then as a minister. David Köler of Zwickau wrote his *Psalmen Davids* in Schönfeld near Schlackenwert. The cantor Christof Schweher in Budweis was recognized as the leader of the best polyphonic chorus of the country. (Only the bass part of his motets [Nürnberg, 1561] has been preserved in the Staatsbibliothek of Berlin). He is identical with Chr. Heccyrus from Krumau in Saaz, well known in the history of hymnology, whose catholic song book of 1581, although recommended by the archbishop, was coolly received by the clergy because it contained several Lutheran songs. This curious wavering between the two confessions occurs repeatedly among the Austrian musicians of that day. The Protestant Kaspar Rauch of Ulm published in 1618 his *Schatzkasten voller Kleinodien*; in Trautenau, where numerous Lutheran cantors can be pointed out, the minister Gregor Vorberg wrote a six-voice Mass which has been performed in Breslau to the present day. An eight-voice « Lobgesang Judiths » by Joh. Chr. Eberlin, « oldest cantor of the Protestant musicians of Bilin, » is preserved in Freiberg (Saxony), since the beginning of the 17th century. Martin Hancke (Hacko), of Moravia, whose father had been minister at Neusol in Upper Hungary, published in 1617 at Brieg in Silesia four-voice *Evangelia* on melodies by Lobwasser at Leipzig. In Moravian Schönberg we find the onetime Huguenot minister Josquin ab Holzen (Dubois?), who was later active in Stettin (psalm motet « Warum loben die Heiden »; Cf. the writer's *Musik in Pommern).* It is from such details that we gain a graphic picture of the music in German Bohemia.

At Joachimsthal in Bohemia, at that time a rich mining town (and from which the words « Thaler » and « dollar » are derived), the poet-composer Nicolaus Herman (from Altdorf near Nürnberg) was active as a cantor, and was famous for his spiritual folk songs and children's songs. Johannes Mathesius, the musical minister of that town and the first biographer of Luther, shows in his writings great enthusiasm for « Justus von Press » (Josquin des Près); he praised Heinrich Finck, Stoltzer, and Gafori, and preached quite drastically: « Durch Musik wird Melancholie vertrieben, und das Gehirn wächst, namentlich, wenn es fein leise und linde klingt, nicht wie die Halderstädter schreien.... Was sehr schreit, muss man oft feuchten; mancher Unflat säuft sogar auf der Orgelempore Der Text ist die Seele der Musik.... Die Schlacht von Pavia (Janequin!)

auf der Orgel zu schlagen ist fiedlerisch und sackpfeiferisch. » The organist of this group was Isaac Hasler and the father of sons more important than himself. The Protestants of Eger should also be mentioned here, but these have been treated in a dissertation by O. Riess (Prague).

The release of the « böhmische Majestätsbrief » (the Magna Charta of the Protestants in Bohemia) was celebrated in Zittau by Chr. Demantius, born in Reichenberg, through a « Te deum » with six-voice versets. His important a-cappella Passion of 1631 and some of his evangelical motets from his splendid *Corona harmonica* (6-v.) of 1610 are now available for study and admiration in Blume's collection, *Das Chorwerk*. Even in his programmatic *Battaglia* for six voices composed in 1600 on the occasion of the conquest by the Germans of Raab, then a Turkish fortress), there is heard at the end a Protestant victory song: « O Jesus Christus, dein Gewalt/ preisen wir also manichfalt,/ wo du den Preis nicht geben wilt, so ist verloren Spiess und Schild ». In the Old City of Prague a Lutheran Salvator Church was erected under the leadership of the Styrian theologist Hoë von Hoënegg, who later, when he was court minister in Dresden, performed Heinrich Schütz's marriage ceremony. The foundation for this church and school was laid in 1611, and at this occasion was performed the eight-voice motet, « Und da die Bauleute den Grund legten » -a printed composition of the cantor Martin Krumbholtz from Bensen near Tetschen (City Library of Breslau). Val. Otto, son of the Thomas cantor of Leipzig, was in 1617 organist at Prague and thereafter became connected with St. Salvator. (Keyboard pieces of his are contained in the atblature of the Viennese Minorites which, in the 18th century, belonged to Alexander Giessel.) The director of music at St. Salvator was Nik. Dioniys v. Dobrawina, the organist was Adam Hermann (who died 1632 at Pirna in exile), and the deacon was the cantor Nathusius from Torgau.

Following the defeat of the Battle of the White Mountain (Schlacht am Weissen Berge), a well-known Bohemian Protestant was executed as a rebel namely Christof Harant, baron of Polschitz, whose motets and Mass have been recently reprinted in Prague. In the same manner died in Prague the well-known composr, Joh. Knöfel, organist of St. Heinrich, church of the Bohemian Bretheren. Under the name of Cnefelius, he has recently been claimed as a Czech composer, but actually he was born in Silesia (Laubau), and later served as conductor in Heidelberg. His six-voice motet for the reception of the emperor, Rudolf II, in Breslau was formerly in Bartfeld (Zips) and is now in Budapest.

The tragi-comic episode of the « Winterkönig », the reformed Frie-

drich of the Palatinate, is also reflected in music history. Simon Besler greeted him in 1619 at Brieg with the motet *ad voces aequales* (that is, for a boys' choir), « Wacht auf, ihr werten Teutschen, es tut euch wahrlich not », and his brother Samuel in Breslau welcomed Friedrich's insurrection by eight-voice compositions on texts of Lobwasser. The catastrophic end of the prince became the subject of numerous folk songs. The revengeful devastations of the Poles were deplored in the « Priebitzer Lied », sung to the melody of « O Mensch, bewein dein Sünde gross ». The clergy and the musicians of St. Salvator had to leave, because the government recognized their wives only as « cooks ». Numerous musicians left Bohemia with them. Hammerschmidt, father and son, went from Brüx to Freiberg, then to Zittau. The cantor Georg Kaiser from Rumburg, famous for his sonorous bass voice, appears in the company of Heinrich Schütz. Jakob Beutel from Niedergrund, after a stay in Luckau, became cantor in the Kreuzkirche of Dresden. Tobias Enickel (Eniccelius) was brought as a child from Leskau to Flensburg, later to Tönning and Kiel. His works are now being studied by North-German musicologists. Chr. Roth, composer and organist at Leitmeritz, found a position in Dresden. The majority of the Bohemian instrument-makers also moved at that time from Graslitz to Klingenthal and Marktneukirchen. Only in the Bohemian town Asch were Protestants permitted to stay, by special permission of the government. Among these was Seb. Knüpfer, later cantor in St. Thomas of Leipzig. However, he suffered severely in his childhood through the terrors of the Thirty-Years-War, as indicated by the writer in his *Geschichte der deutschen Musik* (II, chapter 1). David Funck (Funccius) from Joachimsthal went to Reichenbach, Jena, and finally to the East-Frisian court; it seems that he died in Thuringia. His *Stricturae Violdigambicae* of 1677 (chamber suites for four viole da gamba; unique copy in the Bibl. nat. of Paris) has recently been revived through new editions and performances.

In Upper Austria Luther's friend, Michael Stiefel, started in 1524 to proclaim the new creed. The Protestant « Landschaftsschule der oberösterreichischer Stände » was located in Linz from 1550 till 1567, then in Enns, and once more in Linz from 1574 on. There are no records of cantors for the first decades. In 1578-79 the position of cantor was occupied by Nik. Rosthius, who later was active as a composer in Weimar; and until 1582 by Leonhard Camerarius, who afterwards was cantor in the Nikolaikirche of Berlin and who has also left several compositions. He was succeeded at the *Gymnasium* of Linz by Wolfgang Rauch, and by

Joh. Linck 1586-1602, who wrote dedicatory poems for Valentin Haussmann and Andr. Raselius. Linck's compositions are apparently lost. During his incumbence Sebastian Hasenknopf, who applied for the position, was sent from Salzburg to Graz.

Hasenknopf, who previously had been schoolmaster, organist, and composer in Goldegg, dedicated in 1588 his stately motets for 5, 6, and 8 voices to the patrician family of the Weitmosers in Gastein. In these composition he proves himself a worthy successor of Lasso. From 1601 to 1609 the school at Linz was closed, because of the Counter-Reformation. Thereafter the position of a cantor was held by Johs. Brassicanus (=Kraut) from Murau in Upper Styria. He wrote German songs and one of these, a mourning song, is preserved, as is also (unfortunetaly without the soprano part) his four-voiced *Similia Davidica* of 1615 (Libr. Proske, Regensburg). These are psalm paraphrases, composed in good style for school choirs, and dedicated to the estate of Upper Enns; among the writers of the dedicatory poems of the collection we find Paul Homberger of Regensburg, pupil of Gabrieli and teacher of Joh. Grüger. Seventy-eight compositions of Brassicanus occur also in a liturgical publication, « *Christliche Kirchengesänge* » (Strassburg 1639), of Daniel Hinzler of Heidenheim on the Brenz, then Oberpfarrer at Linz and later *Generalsuperintendent* in Stuttgart; in Hizler's *Musikleitfaden für die Linzer Schule* (Nürnberg 1623) we find a *bebization* which is superior to the well-known one by Hubert Waelrant of Antwerp.

In the orders of the schools of Linz by the rector Meinhard (1580), there are extremely well formulated rules (« *Gesetze* ») for the cantor in which the study material for the various classes is carefully prescribed. The several musicians who were active at the protestant schools of Horn and Freystatt must remain here out of consideration. The city of Steyr too was Lutheran to such and extent that in 1601, when the Catholic school was reopened, nobody could be found for the position of cantor. Until 1599 Wilh. Klausner had been the Protestant school-cantor; in 1609, when the Lutheran *Gymnasium* was reopened, the city council appointed Georg Daubenröck of Weimar, who was then active in Eferding. Of his *Epitome musices* 1617, a unique copy remained at Dresden.

Another musician active in Steyr was Paul Peurl, the well-known early master of the variation suite. A composition like his « Vertrau und bau auf Gott allein », from the excellent *Weltspiegel (DTOe)* represents a polyphonic idealization of the Austrian Mastersong at its very best. The end of the Upper-Austrian Protestantism came with the third

Peassant War of 1625, whose decisive battle is described in the « Fadingerlied ». At that occasion 70.000 peasants sang, as a spiritual battle-hymn, « Weil das die Stund vorhanden ist » (to the melody « Wenn mein Stündlein ») and many Luther songs, until they were massacred by the « Pappenheimer » at Eferding. A satirical song of the other party (1626) was ascribed to the cruel governor, count Herberstorff. The Counter-Reformation is here represented by the extensive work of the Benedictine Seb. Ertel from Wihenstefan (Bavaria), who worked in the monastery of Garten. He is an Upper-Austrian « Gabrieli », who would be well worth a dissertation. By the way, one of Peurl's texts, « Ach Gott, wie gern ich wissen wollt », is by Caspar Glanner (Collection of songs, Salzburg 1578), a zealous student of Luther's Bible, who had repeatedly composed German church songs, e. g., by Hegenwald and by Albrecht, duke of Prussia.

We shall now turn to Lower Austria. In 1561 Adam Händl, citizen of Krems, received a four-voice wedding song based on the German version of Psalm 128 (unique copy Nat. Bibl. Vienna). The Protestant schools for the nobility (*Ritterschaftsschulen*) became an important center for the cultivation of music. Wendelin Kessler (born at Kannendorf, Thuringia - studied music in Königsberg and Danzig) published (1582) at Wittenberg 33 five-voice motets, *Cantiones super Evangelia,* based on Latin hexameters and composed in a very good contrapuntal style. With these paraphrases he anticipates similar compositions by Euricius Dedekind in Ülzen, Val. Geuch in Kassel, and Dan. Friderici in Rostock. In Losdorf Daniel Lagkner (from Marburg on the Drau) was employed as « musurgus » by the barons Losenstein; he published, from 1602 to 1606, no less than four works in Nürnberg, three consisting of sacred (Marienkirch Elbing) and one of secular songs (incomplete in the Staatsbibliothek Berlin). Among these are excellent Latin psalms for three sopranos and one tenor (that is, for a choir of school boys), while some of the Latin dedications are unintentionally comical as, for instance, with the eight-voice « Dum Bierdämpfelius. » Kessler's *Flores Jessaei* are spiritual villanellas; the 23 secular compositions (texts from the Frankfort *Liederbuch,* after Lechner and Hassler) represent a counterpart to those of Lambert Sayve (Vienna 1602), which have been studied by Osthoff. The Protestants of Vienna sought and found a place of worship in the village of Hernals (today a part of the city). The musicians of this church had their New Year congratulations written by various composers, among them master Adam Gumpelzheimer in Augsburg (1612, 1620). When, in 1625, the Protestant service was interdicted, they sang, to the melody of the « Toller Ton, » a « Valetgesang der hoch-

betrübten Turteltaube im Gottesgarten zu Hernals, » a printed copy of which has been preserved. They moved on to Inzersdorf, led by Andreas Rauch (born 1592 in Pottersdorf in Lower Austria) who for four years had been organist at Hernals. When in 1627 the church also at Inzersdorf was closed, Rauch went to Oedenburg in Lower Hungary. His *Thymiaterium* or « Musicalisches Rauchfässlein » (Vol. I) reflects the repertory of Inzersdorf, containing mostly quintets in the style of Eccard; for instance, « O Lieber Herre Gott, behüt uns vor den Türken ». His « Stammbüchlein » of 1627 has been discussed by Walter Vetter in the *Frühdeutsche Lied,* although he may have judged it somewhat too severely. Rauch's *Concentus votivus,* composed for the visit of the emperor Ferdinand II in Oedenburg (1634), is a polychoral concerto with orchestra, somewhat after the manner of Schütz's « Psalmen Davids » of 1619. A similar composition is Rauch's *Cursus triumphalis* of 1648, noticed by Caspar Printz for its pompous style: a strangely baroque piece, in which all the purported devices (mottos) of all the ruling ancestors of Ferdinand, beginning with Rudolph of Hapsburg, are treated with ample sonorities, including the firing of artillery salvos. While this publication is adorned with an extraordinarily bombastic frontispiece, the pubblication of Rauch's *Missa Vesperea....* (Oedenburg, 1642) shows the sorrowful portrait of the composer. His solo songs with continuo, « Ego dormio », represent an extremely lively dialogue between soprano and tenor as *sponsus* and *sponsa,* thus forming a bridal mass. A beautiful « Resonet in laudibus » for soprano and three gambas was seen by the writer in the city library of Breslau. Unfortunately the second part of Rauch's *Thymiaterium* (Ulm, 1650) is known only from book-dealers' catalogues. Some little autographs of the Grasnick collection (Berlin) complete the picture; for instance a signature of the Protestant organist Georg Arnoldt in Traismaur, a letter of the organ builder Eusebius Amerbach of Augsburg to the Protestant *Landstände* in Vienna, or a receipt of Matthaeus Müller, tenor of Hernals and Inzersdorf.

Particularly interesting was the situation in Inner Austria, that is, Styria, Karinthia, and Krain. As early as 1345 a manuscript breviary from Seckau contained German translations of songs, and as late as 1602 we find songs by Luther included in Beutner's Catholic song book (as was customary since Vehe, 1537). Nevertheless, Andr. Gigler's *Gesangs Postill* (published in 1574 at Graz by the Protestant printer Andr. Frankerschien), which Osthoff considers as Roman-Catholic because of its prefatory attack against the « Schwärmer » (fanatics, zealots), is pro-

bably a Protestant production. It is dedicated to David Sachsenreuther, subdirector of the convent of Reun, who is known to have been a Protestant, and it contains paraphrases of the Gospels set to ten melodies by Luther and to ten new melodies, all composed for four voices by Johannes de Cleve (court conductor to the Archduke Ferdinand), who soon thereafter left Graz and moved to Augsburg.

The new creed made general progress also in Styria: since 1549 the *Landstände* called themselves officially a Protestant corporation. The Church Order of Graz (1578) which was to be valid for the entire Styria, had been worked out by David Chytraeus, professor of theology at Rostock. It recommends singing of the Catechism every Sunday, and the introduction at the Latin schools of choirs, all of which soon proved very fruitful. Thus Protestant burials were praised for their beautiful and rich « Besingnus », while the lections of the Catholics were compared to « Hornissengebrummel » (hornet's buzzing). In the year 1584 a poem about Andr. Pirchner (an anabaptist who had been executed), sung to Luther's melody « Vater unser im Himmelreich, » had a great vogue. The printing shop of Georg Widmannstetter in Graz was of great importance between 1588 and 1614. Among its publications were Catholic works by Orlando and Ferdinand Lasso, Albinus Fabritius, Georg Posch, and Heinrich Pfendtner, as well as Protestant compositions by Joachim Friedrich Fritzius and Johs. Heroldt.

Fritzius, from Brandenburg on the Havel, was school master at Eisenerz in 1578, and from 1585 on at Kapfenberg in the Mürztal, under the Protestant noblemen of Stubenberg. Here he composed Psalm 94 for five voices, as well a *Brevis communefactio* (1588) and songs for 3 to 5 voices (known only through Gohler's « Messkataloge ») which were published (1593/94) in Nürnberg. In 1597, being a very old man, Fritzius was driven out, together with his wife and children, by the new Catholic priest. In a supplication, which is preserved, he implored the county estates to grant him the position of keeper of the vineyards at Mürzzuschlag, since he « does not want to hear the idolatrous Mass. » His compositions show him as a skillful composer, who dedicated his « O benigne Jesu Christe » to the Protestant nobility. A similar course of life is reflected in the documents of Hans Franz Fries(e): in 1556 he had been an assistant of the court organist Steigleder at the court of Stuttgart; then he worked for twelve years in Wyborg and Kopenhagen; made his escape from Calvinism; lost four children, victims of fever, in Krems; in 1587 he peti-

tioned for a position in Graz, but since there was no vacancy, he was sent away only with a gratuity for his journey.

At the Protestant Stiftsschule of Graz we find the cantores Jak. Scholt and Kasp. Gastel, the assistant cantors Georg Reitenspiess from the Palatine and Ph. Talheimer, the organist Balth. Heuchelhaim, and the composer and theorist Jak. Körner (Cornerus). In his *Musik aus Pommern* (Heft 7) the author has discussed the activity of Stephan Tessmaier from Stettin, who published in Graz polyphonic settings of all Lutheran songs as well as several psalm compositions. Organists were Hans Krünes (probably from Kettenplan near Marienbad in Bohemia), Alexander Praetorius from Kylburg near Trier, and furthermore Ruprecht Stoiber from Langenlois in Lower Austria. A problematic character was Annibale Perini from Venice who, according to the inspectors of the convent, was a traitor to either religion and who, in their opinion, spoiled the good, old a-cappella art by the introduction, obviously under the influence of Gabrieli, of novel instruments. The Germans were for him no more than *boni tedeschi,* that is, « einfältige Affen und Laffen. » In 1594 he was compelled to resign. Two years later the organ of the convent was handed over to the young Erasmus Widmann, who previously had had some love affairs in Eisenerz, and who also got into trouble in Graz on account of a promise of marriage. More important, he soon had a quarrel with the cantors (*Stiftskantorei*) because he had performed, without rehearsals, compositions of his own which were « frech und gleich einem Saltarello gemacht, » resulting into confusion. In 1598 he had to emigrate, together with the other Protestant ministers and teachers. He went to Weikersheim and finally to Rotenburg ob der Tauber, whence he dedicated (1622) his *Neue musikalische Kurzweil* (for four and five voices) to the « Landschaft des Herzogtums ob und unter der Ems. » In his *Musikalischer Studentenmut* of 1622 he still remembers his youthful days in Austria, for instance in a song in which he tells us the rule of life of a man of 103 years of age: *Crudum non comedi, turbidum non bibi, vanas curas neglexi, concordiam dilexi.* The last organist of the convent of Graz was Georg Stradner from Marburg on the Drau, who had for twenty years been Protestant organist in Wels. In 1599 he had to leave the Styrian capital because he had played « Erhalt uns, Herr, bei deinem Wort. » He went to Niederungen where we later find Georg Christoph Stradtner, presumably his grandson. The main Protestant organ builder was Caspar Sturm from Ulm. Even the trumpeters and gymnasts (*Turnergesellen*) were expelled in 1601 from all parts of the Hapsburg empire « wegen beständiger Bekantnus (*Bekenntnis,* confession)

christlich-evangelischer Religion ». Still long therafter edicts had to be issued prohibiting workmen and craftsmen from singing Lutheran songs during their work.

In Klagenfurt we find since 1566 the Protestant Kaspar Winckler, who was active as « Landschaftsorganist » and also as teacher of young organ players. His successor, Hermann Reich, received the large salary of 117 Gulden per annum, as well as a leave of absence for study in Venice. In this capital of Karinthia there were separate positions for the « Figuralkantor » and the « Choralkantor. » The poet Urban Baumgartner describes the six-voice *Turmsonaten* at Klagenfurt, and — something rather curious — the music (horns and trumpets with dancing songs) that accompanied the sports of the Gymnasium. The peculiar form of Karinthian folksong (still in use today, and imitated by Th. Koschat in the 19th century), with improvised voices above and below the first bass, is probably a remnant of the 16th century technique of *cantus firmus* tenor. Johannes Heroldt from Jena wrote (1594) in Klagenfurt his six-voice St. Matthew Passion (which is preserved in Proske's Library in a printed edition of Graz) with a preface of the famous rector Hieron. Megiser.[5]

This composition is an eloquent witness to the high standing of the church and school choir of Klagenfurt, as well as to the mastery of the composer. A basis of comparison is afforded by the St. Matthew Passion (also for six voices, but with Latin text) of Jakob Handl-Gallus (Prague, 1586)[6], which is also divided into three parts with nearly the same distribution of the text, except for the final offering of thanks which is absent in Heroldt. Other similar works are the German five-voice Passion of the Thuringian composer Johann Macholg (1593)[7] and Leonard Lechner's four-voice Passion according to St. John (1594)[8] all composed after the manner of the motet. Although Lechner surpasses all the others, it seems to me that Heroldt's composition takes the second place, being superior to those of Machold and even of the famous Handl, in its charm and plasticity. The *turbae* are always in *tutti*, as are most of the narrations, which are written in *falso bordone* style. The accentuation of the text is emphasized by the use of syncopation. The solo roles are put into relief in varying combinations of three or four voices. Jesus is sung from the bass

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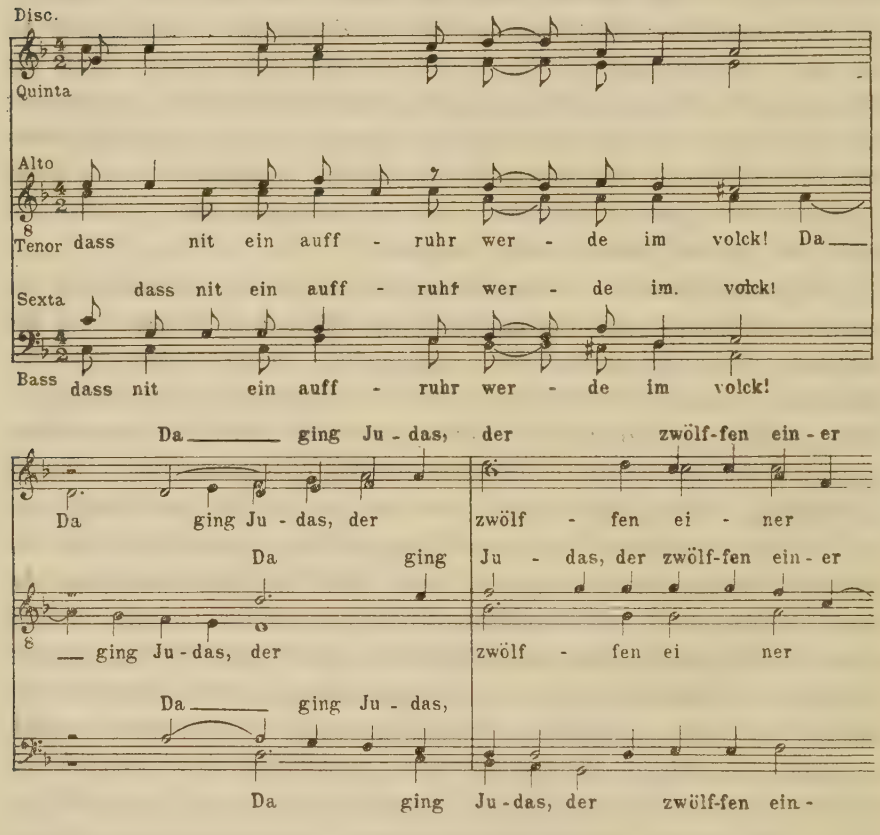
[5] The missing discantus of this work has been replaced by the present writer.
[6] Cfr. *DTOe* xii, i, p. 141 ff.
[7] Univ. Libr. of Königsberg; Cf. O. Kade, *Geschichte der älteren Passionskomposition*, p. 89 ff.
[8] New edition Bärenreiter Verlag, 1926.

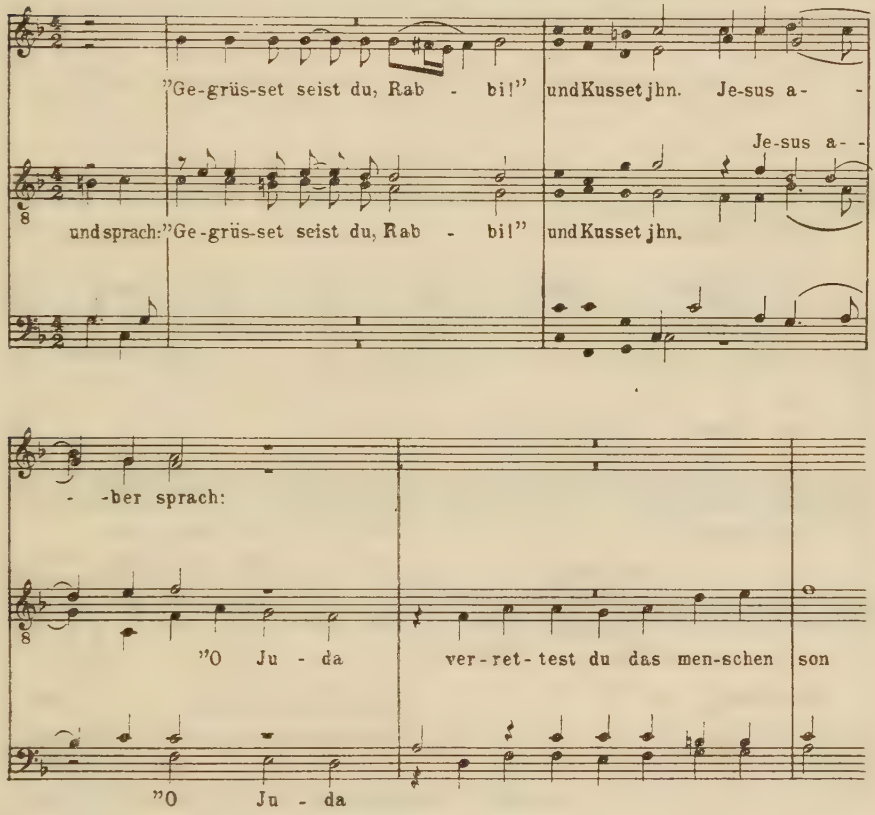
upward to tenor and alto, Judas and the evil-doer from the alto down to the *Sexta vox* (i. e., 2nd. tenor), Caiphas and Pilatus are sung by the discant, the *Quinta vox* (i. e., 2nd soprano) and alto or tenor [9].

A contrast to the flowing presentation of the initial narrative is represented by Heroldt's use of massive polyphony in connection with the words indicating the beginning of the tragedy, « Da ging Judas der Zwölfen einer ».


Disc.
Quinta
Alto
Tenor dass nit ein auff - ruhr wer - de im volck! Da
Sexta dass nit ein auff - ruhf wer - de im. volck!
Bass dass nit ein auff - ruhr wer - de im volck!
Da ging Ju - das, der zwölf-fen ein - er
Da ging Ju - das, der zwölf - fen ei - ner
Da ging Ju - das, der zwölf-fen ein - er
ging Ju - das, der zwölf - fen ei ner
Da ging Ju - das,
Da ging Ju - das, der zwölf-fen ein -

[9] The author should like to reserve for himself the publication of the entire work.

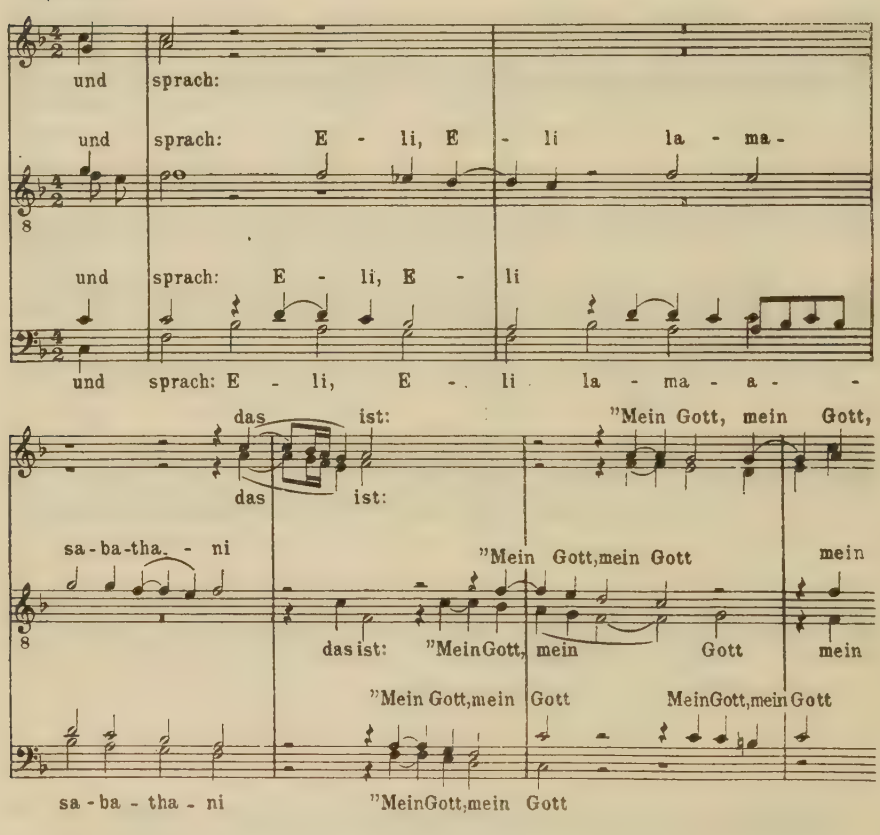
In a similar vein the Kiss of Judas is impressively portrayed by a single triplet formation whose *color* (black notes) also serves as a symbol of grief and indignation. The whole passage is reproduced here in order to show how impressively the contrast between the groups and the individuals is worked out.


"Ge-grüs-set seist du, Rab - bi!" und Kusset jhn. Je-sus a- -
Je-sus a- -
und sprach: "Ge-grüs-set seist du, Rab - bi!" und Kusset jhn.
- -ber sprach:
"O Ju - da ver-ret-test du das men-schen son
"O Ju - da

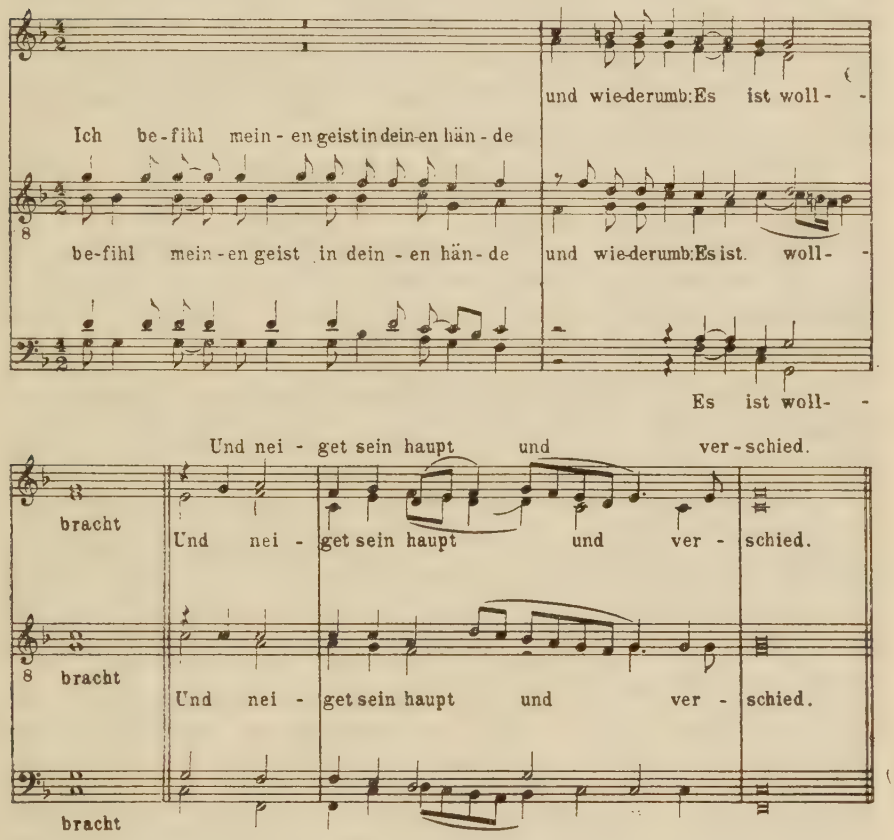
Extendend chains of coloraturas are used for Jesus' words « Du sagests. »

The second part is opened by broad imitative melismas on « Da nahm Pilatus Jesum, » while the mockery of « Gegrüsset seist du, lieber Juden-

könig » is represented by dance-like triple rhythms, used also by Lechner. After the three stormy *tutti* exclamations, « Lass ihn kreuzigen, » the second part closes with a very elaborate « Bistu Gottes Sohn, so steig herab vom Kreuz, » in which the traditional symbol for descending motion occurs. In contrast to the title « nach Matthaeus, » which at that time often meant only « for Good Friday, » the third part is formed by a short *Evangelienharmonic,* in order to bring in all the Seven Words. Sonorous and solemn columns of chords appear with the words « Jesus aber betet vor seine Creutziger. » At the « Eli lama » painful suspensions above quietly moving thirds combine with carefully planned echo effects to produce a climax of expression.


und sprach:
und sprach: E - li, E - li la - ma -
und sprach: E - li, E - li
und sprach: E - li, E - li la - ma - a -
das ist:
das ist:
"Mein Gott, mein Gott,
sa - ba - tha - ni
"Mein Gott, mein Gott
mein
das ist: "Mein Gott, mein Gott mein
"Mein Gott, mein Gott
Mein Gott, mein Gott
sa - ba - tha - ni
"Mein Gott, mein Gott

The work, which closes with the following brief and dignified passage, would certainly merit a revival.


Ich be-fihl mein-en geist in dein-en hän-de
und wie-derumb: Es ist woll- -
be-fihl mein-en geist in dein-en hän-de
und wie-derumb: Es ist. woll- -
Es ist woll- -
Und nei - get sein haupt und ver-schied.
bracht
Und nei - get sein haupt und ver - schied.
bracht
Und nei - get sein haupt und ver - schied.
bracht

In 1601 Heroldt became court conductor at Altenburg (Thuringia), succeeding Rosthius. He died three years later in Weimar, having held a similar position there.

In Laibach, where the Slovenian grammarian Boharič, a Protestant, collected a large library which he later donated to the province, we meet an important figure in Wolfgang Striccius (Stricker?) from Wunstorff near Hanover. In 1588 he published as « Cantor einer ehrsamen Landschaft zu Crain » *Neue teutsche Lieder* (Katharina Gerlachin, Nürnberg), con-

taining 21 four-voice compositions for a school choir, all in the German language, and mostly spiritual as, for instance, the charming Christmas quodlibet, « Heut ist der Tag, ihr Christen mein. » It also contains secular pieces of great liveliness, as for instance the « Hüt dich beileib, nimmst du ein Weib » of a lamenting husband, or the song of the betrothed « Ein schönes Ringlein hab ich ihr/Gar neulich machen lassen, » which is partly polyphonic, partly chordal in humanistic scansion. In 1593 Striccius moved to the wealthy town of Ülzen (Low Germany), and died as a city clerk in Pattensen in Hanover.

In Tyrol we find numerous songs of anabaptists as well as Lutheran psalms in Rattenberg, Schwaz, Salurn, even Meran. Ruprecht Höller of Innsbruck published in 1558 in woodcut a Protestant music sheet, « O Gott, du höchstes Gut » (about the discovery of this rare specimen see Anton Dörrer's report in the *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*). The great Leonhard Lechner from the Etschal (hence his surname *Athesinus*) was, no doubt, a Protestant during his sojourns in Nürnberg, Hechingen, Tübingen, and Stuttgart, as appears from his *Neue teutsche Lieder* of 1582 and, from his *Deutsche Sprüche von Leben und Tod* of seven years later, and even more so from his posthumous St. John's Passion (all published by Bärenreiter Verlag). Adam Haslmeier, teacher at the Latin school of Bozen and pupil of Andreas Caslabamus (probably meaning from Czaslau in Bohemia) suffered a strange fate at Brixen. In 1592 he published, under the title of *Neue teutsche Gesang,* seventeen compositions for four, five, and six voices, among them twelve German psalm paraphrases, side by side with secular pieces such as that on « Rosina, wo war dein Gestalt » and « Von edler Art, » texts which are well known from the circle of Hofhaimer and Senfl. Most remarkable is his dialogue between Man and Death, « Tod was fragst, » for three against three voices. Unfortunately the copy of the British Museum is incomplete. The missing part books are said to have been found in Sweden, but the writer was unable to get definite information about them. Haslmaier started as a Catholic, then joined the *Schwärmer,* became a Protestant in Hall (Tyrol), had many quarrels with his superiors, was sent to the galleys in Genova in punishment for his creed, and died probably on the return journey to his home. In this connection the outstanding builder of violins, Jakob Stainer, must also be mentioned. The documents reproduced in Leo Frh. von Lüttgendorff's *Lexikon* show that he was called before the Inquisiton for having read Lutheran books, and that he fell into a deranged state of mind after the imprisonment.

III. From Emperor Ferdinand II to the Expulsion of the Protestant of Salzburg (1619-1732)

Wavering between the two confessions was characteristic of many German composers around the turn of the century, for instance, De Cleve, Utendal, and the brothers Hassler. Even Heinrich Schütz has used a special « Catholic » numbering of works for his *Cantiones sacrae* of 1625 and for the *Sinfoniae sacrae* I of 1629. As late a manuscript as the Tablatures of the Minorites by A. Giessel in Vienna (1696-1766) contains 24 chorale variations by Scheidt, nearly all those contained in the *Tabulatura nova.* As a counterpart of the conversions mentioned at the beginning we find satirical poems of Protestant origin, for instance an eight-voice *Vita monastica,* « Ein Nönnlein jung zur Beichte ging » (Staatsbibliothek Berlin) and similar jocular compositions for chorus, in the style of Widmann. Isaac Posch in Klagenfurt (whose supposed brother called himself Francus) left at his death in 1623 twenty-two very remarkable solo concertos with *basso continuo* (*Harmonia concertans*) which likewise stand at the dividing line of the two confessions. His widow dedicated them to an outspokenly Protestant nobleman; and, moreover, texts about the Virgin and the Saints are absent; on the other hand the collection contains nothing that could not have been used also in the Catholic service, its contents being mostly psalms and passages from the Song of Salomon, as is the case with Schütz's previously mentioned *Op. 2 ecclesiasticum.*

This was the time when nearly all the members of the nobility from Inner Austria had to emigrate « ins Reich. » There is a deeply moving touch of grief in the numerous emigrant poems of those decades, as for example those of the Freiherr Otto von Stabenberg or of the Graf Giech zu Turnau near Culmbach. One of the best poets of that day, however, Frhr. Gall von Rägknitz (Nürnberg 1657) consoles himself with: « Kein Exulant kann *der* sein, der mit *dir* exuliert. » His burial in Nürnberg put the pens of important composers into motion.

Now Hungary enters particularly into our picture. Since 1557 two-thirds of the population were considered as Protestants or as Reformed. The mountain church of Eisenstadt, for instance, was Lutheran as late as 1674. In 1669 forty-one Protestant ministers were sent to the galleys in Naples where they were saved by the Dutch admiral de Ruyter, an event remembered in the « Galeerenlied » which is living to the present day in Hungary.

In 1645 was born the previously-mentioned Georg Christof Strattner. During his activity at the Protestant church of Pressburg (where Johann Crüger from Guben was also for a while active) he met his cousin Samuel Capricornus (Bockshorn; born 1628 in Scharditz near Brünn), and accompanied him 1657 to Stuttgart. Later he became well known as a composer of cantatas and as an editor of church hymns. Johann Cousser (Kusser), born 1626, was expelled from Pressburg in 1674 because he was a Protestant cantor. The writer found his *Concentuum sacrorum op. I* (hitherto missing) in the Brukenthalmuseum in Hermannstadt (Transylvania), except one discant part. All the twelve cantatas on Latin psalms and the seven cantatas on the Magnificat are different from the thirty-one manuscripts in Darmstadt. Johann Cousser was the father of Sigismund Cousser who played a prominent part in the history of opera. Both fled to Württemberg together with Joh. Kaspar Kessler, cantor of St. Georg at Rust, as also Dan. Speer from Breslau at Güns, whose detailed biography was given by the author in *Acta musicologica,* 1937. A German music printer in Pressburg was Joh. Andr. Hörmann who in 1695 published Georg Naray's *Lyra coelestis.* Hungarian musicologists seem to have overlooked the unique copy at Brussels.

The German-Hungarian popular Paradise and Christmas plays, which, like the well-known one from Oberufer, were amply provided with music, stem mostly from Styrian Protestants who emigrated into Hungary. Recently the Viennese folklorist, Karl Horak, has presented us with a remarkable volume containing such examples. One of the Protestant musicians of the German mountain towns of Upper Hungary, Zacharias Zarewutius in Bartfeld, has become known again through Gombosi's description of his tablature completed between 1625 and 1665. (Nat. Mus. Budapest). A remarkable personality from Zips was Johs. Celscher (Kölnischer?). In 1600 he was cantor in Marienwerder (West Prussia) and published twenty-three four-voice villanellas in Königsberg; later we find him in Elbing, Danzig, in Lithuania, and elsewhere. Stylistically, he is among the followers of H. L. Hassler, also in his six-voice Short Mass (Danzig) on « Domine, quid multiplicati sunt. » Mattheson's *Ehrenpforte* contains the auto-biography of a German-Hungarian who would seem to merit further investigation, namely, Johs. Francisci from Neusohl (born 1691). In 1725 he took lessons with J. S. Bach in Leipzig, and became later cantor of the Gymnasium of Altsohl. Cantatas of his may possibly be preserved there.

Finally a brief survey of the Protestant Transylvania. Antonius Jung from Klausenberg, minister at Urwegen, wrote (1577) a six-voice psalm

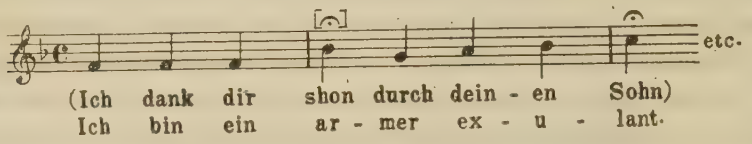
motet, « Ecce quam bonum, » which is preserved in Kronstadt. With several minor masters of local importance, such as the Ostermayers, must be mentioned an important composer of songs, namely, Gabriel Reilich of S. Georgen in Zips, Protestant cantor at Hermannstadt, as also his *Geistlich-musikalischer Blumen- und Rosenwald,* of which only the second part (1677) is preserved in the Brukenthal Museum. (According to the preface, the first part had appeared four years earlier.) The pubblication is a typographical curiosity: since apparently there were no musical types in Transylvania, only the lines are printed, and the heads written in by hand as in many missals of about 1470. According to Lüttgendorf there were four violin makers by the name of Reilich, who worked in Venice, Brescia, and Padua; very likely our Gabriel was one of their relatives. His « Tugend ist der beste Freund » lends itself to a comparison with Schütz's composition of the same text (by Opitz).

Yet another composer of songs must be mentioned here, namely, Michael Widemann (from Silesia; born 1659 in Ossig near Liegnitz), Protestant minister at Schweidnitz. His *Historisch-poetische Gefangenschaften* (Leipzig 1689/90), twelve monthly stories interspersed with songs, aroused the indignation of the Jesuits, and he had to flee, until in 1702 the Graf of Stolberg offered him a position as court chaplain in Wernigerode. The songs contained in the May issue, « Der bekümmerte Student » and in the June issue, « Fido, der unbesorgte Musikant, » are partly provided with a violin obligato. The poetical texts, although versified in the manner of Lohenstein, are sometimes very charming. Thus his « Gartenlust » shows evidence of a creative power: « Der süsse Geruch von den Nelken und Rosen / *verbisamt* unsichtbar die lauliche Luft » (*Bisam* = musk). His « Du schwarze Augenglut » foreshadows his compatriot Joh. Christian Günther, whose texts, by the way, for secular cantatas present an interesting source of music history.

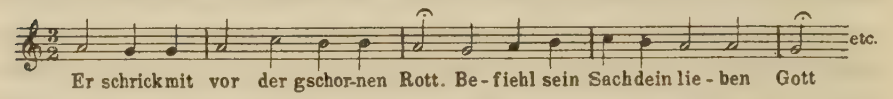
Under the influence of the eighteenth-century enlightenment the confessional differences began to disappear to a certain extens. This is illustrated by the concert arias, *Neueröffnetes Blumengärtlein* (Bautzen 1706; unique copy in the Bibl. Nat. Paris) of Joh. Christof Kridel, a Catholic from Rumburg, hence a German-Bohemian. They are theologically indifferent solo songs for the Communion, composed somewhat in the manner of Erlebach.

In 1732 the Protestants of Salzburg, numbering many thousands, were expelled by the archbishop Firmian. One of their spiritual leaders, the miner Jos. Schaitberger (1658-1733) from Hallein, wrote for them the famous traveller's song « Ich bin ein armer Exulant, » which has been reviv-

ed today among the Autsrian Protestants. Apparently he used for it the following melody (written in 1610) by Praetorius:



When in 1731 a first group of the Protestants emigrated, the « Loipacherlied » was sung for them as a consolation. Judging from the poetic meter, it was sung to the melody of Lobwasser's paraphrase of Psalm 83:



According to Schering's investigations, not only the *Kreuzstab-kantate* were sung in order to comfort the emigrants when they passed through Leipzig but also choral cantatas by Sebastian Bach. When the Prussian king, Friedrich Wilhelm I, met them in Zehlendorf near Berlin, he commanded them to sing for him Protestant church songs such as « Auf meinen lieben Gott / trau ich in Angst und Not, » and appropriated to them farmland in East Prussia and Masuria. To the present day the repertory of German folksongs in that country includes melodies of an unmistakably Salzburgian character.

Only after the edict of toleration by Kaiser Joseph II in 1781 did matters change. Two thousad Protestants of Styria, and 14.000 of Carinthia welcomed the liberation from spiritual oppression, particularly with the song « Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr, » whose melody is borrowed from a pre-Lutheran *Credo*. Now Handel's Messiah was also heard in Austria, and it is symbolic that Mozart did not hesitate to use Luther's melody « Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh darein » for the « Gesang der Geharnischten Männer » in his *Zauberflöte,* or that Beethoven wrote his Gellert-lieder, Op. 46, in Vienna. The German-Bohemian, Simon Sechter, provided the Austrian Protestants above all with liturgical music; Brahms performed Eccard and Schütz within the precincts of St. Stephan's; Bach's Passions were heard more and more frequently in the residence of the Hapsburg emperors, and finally the *Deutsche Bachfest* (1914) in Vienna was, in a final reconciliation, a grandiose closing consonance, after nearly four centuries of frequently grievous dissonances.

Weimar, Germany.

SOME MUSIC TREATISES AND THEIR INTERRELATION

A School of Liége c. 1050-1200?

I.

JOS. SMITS VAN WAESBERGHE

It is a well-known fact that on Mediaeval schools tradition had a strong hold; and the connection between new and old is clearly traceable in the treatises used and the methods followed by successive teachers of the same scholastic subject — far more so than is the case with modern schools. A study of the way music was taught in the Middle Ages at once reveals a similar mutual coherence in this branch of learning, as the writer had occasion to point out in the first part of his History of Music[1]. Up to the present, however, this correlation, though noticed, has scarcely received the attention it deserves, which seems to be due on the one hand to the circumstance that not all of the treatises concerned have as yet been published, and on the other to the fact that those Mediaeval works that have actually seen light have not attained a sufficient measure of publicity. Thus when editing the *Quaestiones in Musica* Steglich did not know the *Micrologus-Commentary,* though the latter had been made generally accessible by Dom Vivell, nor the *Expositio de Motu* (now published in *Muz. Geschied. d. M.* I., 145 ff). Vivell in his turn was acquainted neither with the *Quaestiones* nor with the *Expositio,* nor yet did he take account of the work of Jacobsthal published as early as 1897 under the title of *Die chromatische Alteration.* This book would have furnished him with important data concerning transformation and transposition, two concepts that receive ample treatment in the *Micrologus-Commentary,* as they do in the *Quaestiones in Musica.* Then again Jacobsthal has no knowledge of the *Quaestiones,* while H. Sowa in his *Quellen zur Transformation der Antiphonen* (1935) appears to be in a similar plight with regard to Vivell's *Commentary,* in which the very same subject is treated. All of which il-

[1] *Muziekgeschiedenis der Middeleeuwen* (Tilburg) I, II 1936-1947.

lustrates the sharp contrast existing between modern methods and procedure in the Middle Ages.

It is this procedure, then, that will form the subject of the present paper. The evident kinship of those Mediaeval treatises and the implied purpose of their learned authors to continue in the line of their predecessors are too conspicuous to be dismissed with a mere mention of their presence. The extent of territory to which on closer examination these tracts are to be assigned may not, indeed, be so very large, but for those parts where they originated, this interdependence was a determining influence in the development of the theory of music.

This textual relationship between some of those treatises concerns topics which are not found associated together in any other set of tracts. Thus the *motus*-theory and Notker Balbulus' explanation of the neume-letters are both to be found here. On closer study it appears, moreover, that the texts of the manuscripts by which those treatises have come down to us, are reproduced by later writers sometimes in literal transcription, at other times in more condensed form. But by that time the science has travelled a considerable way and has spread over a wider area. All the older manuscripts bear evidence that they emanate from one centre.

Steglich was the first to point out that the Ms Darmstadt - 1988 contains a large number of summaries used by the author of the *Quaestiones* to build up his compilation. These being mere copies and not original work, he further concludes that the treatise itself must have been written at a centre where the original texts were available.

The writer has the good fortune to have at his disposal a larger number of manuscripts than had his predecessors, and it is hoped that a careful comparison of their characteristics will yield sufficient evidence for determining their place of origin, at least regionally. In the course of time the science spreads over a wider field; manuscripts are multiplied and get farther and farther away from their parent stem, thus making it more difficult to trace them to their origin. Hence a time-limit is imperative. The series of treatises now under review begins about 1050 and it would not seem advisable to pursue the inquiry beyond the beginning of the 13th century. Only one or other manuscript of the 13th and 14th centuries will be mentioned, as they may throw light on the matter in hand.

The following treatises will be considered:

a. Anonymus-Wolf, *c.* 1060, ed. Joh. Wolf 1) an. W.
b. Anonymi Commentarius in Micrologum, *c.* 1070, ed. Vivell 2) an. Co

c. Aribo, Tractatus de Musica, *c.* 1080, ed. Gerbert, *Scr. II* 3) Ar.
d. Anonymi Quaestiones de Musica, *c.* 1090, ed. R. Steglich 4) Qu.
e. Joannes (Cotto), Tract., *c. 1100,* ed. Gerbert, *Scr. II* 5) Jo.
f. Anon II (IX), ed. De Coussemaker, *Scr.,* II, *c.* 1200 6) An. II
g. Anon. Expositio de Motu, *c.* 1070, ed. Smits v. Waesberghe 7) An. Exp.
h. Anon. Tract. de Musica *c.* 1150, ed. Smits v. Waesberghe 8) An. Tr.
i. Anon. Summa Musicae, 13th cent., ed. Gerbert, *Scr.,* III 9) Summa.
k. Jacobi Leodiensis Speculum Musicae, 10) Spe.
l. Versus « Quatuor ecce tropi », auct. « Quaestiones in Mus.» 11) Quat.
m. Notkeri Balbuli Epistola de litteris appositis neumis 12) Not.

In the present study we shall examine:
1) the contents of these treatises, more especially their mutual relation;
2) the data concerning their origin;
3) the interdependence, if any, of the manuscripts in which these treatises are found, or used or referred to.

I.

a. Treatise *a,* generally known in music literature as *Anonymus-Wolf,* is a compilation gathered from other people's work, and clearly originated as a series of college-lectures on the *Ars musica* at some important school. It must have been composed shortly after 1050, and all its borrowings are taken from the work of Berno of Reichenau, Hermann of Reichenau (who is generally reputed to be its author, G. S. II), the *Anonimus* I of Gerbert, *Scriptores* I. It winds up with the letter containing Notker's interpretation of the neume-letters (*m*).

b. Treatise *b, Commentarius in Micrologum,* must from its tenor be a written account of the discourses of a lecturer at some noted school in the third or fourth quarter of the 11th century. Three points at once invite attention: there is an elaborate dissertation on the theory of the *Motus vocum* (which will come up for discussion later on); there is a commentary on the fifteenth chapter of Guido's *Micrologus,* which in its explanations deviates from Aribo's (cf. *c*); and there is the venturesome interpretation of *dia* in the word « diaphony » as meaning *duo.* This strange and incorrect explanation would seem to have been current at the time, for it is likewise applied to the words *diapason* and *diatessaron* by *Anonymus- Wolf,* Reynerus Boon, parish priest of Rijnsburg and Noordwijk (1338-1367) [2],

[2] Cf. London B. M. Add. 23220.

Joannes de Muris (Leodiensis?)[3], and *Anonymus* in De Coussemaker, *Scr.* III, 424. The last three also advance the interpretation *de* for *dia.*

c. Treatise *c.* by Aribo is one of the so-called dedication-tracts, that is, tracts written in epistolary form and dedicated to some distinguished personage, in the present case Bishop Ellenhard of Freising (d. 1078). Aribo is not only acquainted with *b,* but quotes from it and even disputes some of its points. It is somewhat remarkable, considering the usual procedure of the time, to have the views of the *Anonymous Commentator* first stated, and only after that Aribo's own ideas[4]. The author also appears to know the interpretation of the neume-letters as given in *Anonymus-Wolf* (tract *a*)[5].

Aribo, moreover, has his own views in the matter of musical theory, so he is not afraid of citing and correcting the structure of organ pipes as given by Wilhelm of Hirschau, and in the end suggesting measurements of his own. Most probably he knew Wilhelm only from his work and does not seem to have stood in any close relation to him, referring to him vaguely as « prius Emmerammensis Ratisponae monachus, nunc autem alibi abbas, » (who is now an abbot elsewhere).

d. The next treatise (*d*), *Anonymi Quaestiones de Musica* consists, like *a,* almost wholly of lectures. For the greater part they are drawn from the works of Aribo, and to some extent from Guido's *Micrologus,* the *Anonymus Commentator in Micrologum* (*b*), Boethius, Berno, *Anonymus I* (Gerbert, *Scr.,* I), the *Dialogus Pseudo-Odonis,* the *Enchiriadis* and *Anon.-Wolf* (*a*). In addition to these borrowings the treatise brings some personal contributions, among which are the verses « Quatuor ecce tropi » (*l*), at least if we may thus interpret the fact that this is the oldest treatise in which these verses occur. They will be referred to as « Quatuor ecce » or *l.* There is, moreover, a new method of musical notation. Steglich in his work cited above considers both the verses and the new notation to be the author's own work.

e. Treatise *e,* by Joannes (Cotto), is another dedication-tract, dedicated to Fulgentius, abbot of Affligem (1088-1120), containing side by side a good deal of original work and some adaptations of older texts, for example from the *Anon. Commentator in Micrologum* (*b*) and from Aribo (*e*)[6].

f. *Anonymus* II [IX], (*f*), published by De Coussemaker in his series

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[3] Gerbert, *Scriptores,* III, 260, Coussemaker, *Scriptores,* III 95.
[4] See *Muziekgeschiedenis der Middeleeuwen,* I 139 ff.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 56, 204.
[6] See *Muziekgesch. d. M. E.,* I 366, 368 ff.

Scriptores II, dates from the end of the 12th century or the beginning of the 13th. It is not a complete and connected treatise, but a string of chapters presenting a series of gleanings from various authors. It has the same curious interpretation of *duo* for *dia* as was found in *b*. Its contents follow and develop the line of the theory advanced in the *Quaestiones de Musica* (*d*)[7]. It also cites verses of Joannes Hollandrinus. The chapter *De finalibus tonorum* is in part borrowed from the work of Joannes (Cotto). When we come to discuss the interdependence of the manuscripts, we shall revert to this treatise, because better texts have come down to us than the one published by De Coussemaker.

g. The *Expositio de Mott* (*g*), a commentary on the *motus*-theory of Guido d'Arezzo, is printed in the writer's History of Music (*Muz. Gesch. d. M. E.* I, 154 ff) together with the several commentaries on the same Guido-text by the *Anonymus Commentator in Micrologum* (*b*), by Aribo (*c*), by Joannes Cotto (*e*) and by Jacob, the author of *Speculum Musicae* (*h*). On comparing all these texts the *Expositio* strongly impresses one as being the first of the series and its date would seem to be *c.* 1060. Furthermore it is clear that each commentator repeats, completes or corrects the statements of his predecessors. One example may suffice to show their method and to illustrate at the same time the fondness of the writers of supporting their theories with practical examples:

Expositio (*g*): « De omnibus exempla ponamus ».

An. Comm. (*b*): « Quorum omnium motuum exempla ne simplicitas aliquorum laboret ponamus ».

Aribo (*c*): « Quorum exempla sicut priorum, ne simplicitas laboret aliquorum, ponemus ».

Joannes Cotto (*e*): « De his omnibus si exempla darem, taedium potius lectori, quam proficium nimia prolixitate ingererem ».

Jacobus (*k*): « Et de his omnibus exempla multa reperiri possunt in libris de cantu ».

The above quotations obviously suggest some family connection between the respective treatises.

h. The eighth treatise of our series (*h*), *Anonymus Quoniam inter VII artes liberales* is shortly to be published by the writer elsewhere together with another anonymous tract *Tractaturi de Musica.* In the first

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[7] Cf. Steglich p. 183 ff.

of these, written about 1200, a considerable part of the text consists of the Anonymous IX of De Coussemaker's *Scriptores* (*f*). The second, dating from the beginning of the 12th century, consists chiefly of excerpts derived from Joannes Cotto. The contents of these two tracts, especially of the first, afford sufficient ground for including them in our series, but there is another reason, founded on tradition, to which we shall return later.

i. The chapters of *An. Summa Musicae,* published by Gerbert (*Scriptores* III), are likewise for the greater part borrowings of Joannes (Cotto) (*e*). The treatise is of the 13th century.

k. The most exhaustive work on music that the Middle Ages have bequeathed to us, is the *Speculum Musicae* by Jacob (of Oudenaerde?) dating from the first half of the 14th century. It consists of seven books, of which only Books VI and VII, and the first chapter of Book I have been published. In book VI the author of *Quaestiones de Musica* (*d*) is repeatedly cited. Nine times he is expressly mentioned, once as « Auctor Quaestionum in Musica, qui sine dubio valens fuit musicus, ut suum probat opus ». There are, moreover, repeated references to *expositores, adhaerentes* and even *sequaces Guidonis,* from whom many passages are quoted. On closer examination these *expositores* or *sequaces* prove to be identical with the authors of *b, c, d* and *e,* the last of whom is qualified as « Quidam valens doctor qui multum laboravit ut errores in cantibus et tonis corrigeret » [8]. This *valens doctor* is also mentioned on other pages [9]. Why did the writer of the *Speculum* omit the names of these *sequaces Guidonis,* which may be supposed to have been known to him? Can it be that, writing his large encyclopaedia of music for the great University of Paris, he did not wish to put the writers of his own town or territory in the first plan?

The points to be gathered from the foregoing may be summed up as follows:

a has as its last item the text of *m*;
b questions some points of *d*; is acquainted with *g*;
c also criticizes *d*; probably knows *m* through *a* and is likewise acquainted with *g*;
d gives extracts from *a* and *c*; takes *m*-text from *a*; adapts passages from

[8] C. S. II, 260.
[9] *Ibid.* 244, 279, 312, 320, 326, 332.

b; according to Steglich, its author is the same as the author of *l*; he may have known *g*;

e knows passages of *b* and *c*;

f makes use of *e* and probably knows *d*;

g is used at a later date, in the composition of *b, c, e* and *k*;

h contains excerpts from *e*; the manuscripts at our disposal present a sounder text of *f* and quote from *l;*

i adapts *e* and quotes passages from it.

k gives extracts from *b, c, d,* and *e.*

On taking a combined view of these treatises the reader is struck by the fact that so many authors comment on the *motus*-theory of Guido. It is a familiar topic in this cycle of tracts and discussed in none outside it. Another common trait is that they evince an evident interest in Notker's explanation of the neume-letters (*m*), as may appear from the following quotations:

Anon.-Wolf:

Unde et in cantionum libris tam nocturnis quam diurnis inveniuntur notulae ex alphabeto, neumis appositae.....

Aribo:

Unde in antiquioribus antiphonariis utrisque c, t, m reperimus persaepe...

Quae consideratio jamdudum obiit, immo sepulta est.

An. Quaest.:

Quid sibi vult, quod in plerisque antiquioribus antiphonariis litteras invenimus asscriptas neumis ut m, c, t.

Haec consideratio, quae jamdudum obiit, immo sepulta est.

Amsterdam, Holland

(To be continued)

PIERRE ATTAINGNANT

notes et documents

FRANÇOIS LESURE

Le rôle joué par Pierre Attaingnant dans les origines de l'édition musicale, dans la diffusion de la chanson française, du motet de l'école de la Ste-Chapelle, de nombre de pièces instrumentales — transcriptions de chansons et danses — est d'une telle importance que l'on doit prêter une attention toute particulière à la personnalité de cet éditeur. En présentant ici très brièvement un certain nombre de documents inédits sur sa famille, son entourage et sur lui-même, nous voudrions combler les lacunes d'une documentation restée encore très fragmentaire[1].

Nous ignorons tout de ses origines. En dehors de ses propres enfants, aucun membre de sa famille ne paraît habiter Paris, tandis qu'en 1547 l'un des ses parents, Nicolas Attaingnant, demeure près de Pontoise (Document 8). Si l'on ajoute que l'on rencontre également ce nom en Picardie[2], on pourra, en attendant plus de précisions, fixer le lieu d'origine de la famille Attaingnant dans une région au nord de Paris.

Les débuts de Pierre Attaingnant dans l'imprimerie sont tout aussi obscurs. Il apparaît pour la première fois au commencement de l'année 1514, avec le qualificatif de « libraire » et en possession d'un matériel sommaire d'imprimeur. Le 13 janvier de cette année, il loue « une presse.... trois frisquettes, une casse, deux ays a tremper le papier... », etc., à Jean de la Roche, un de ses confrères de la rue des Poirées à Paris[3]. Et, comme son nom n'apparaît sur aucun ouvrage avant 1525, on a généralement conclu que pendant une dizaine d'années il n'avait pas exercé son métier de

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[1] Les meilleures notices sur Attaingnant sont celles de G. Lepreux, *Gallia typographica*, Série parisienne, t. I, 1911, p. 57-63, et de L. de La Laurencie, dans l'introduction des *Chansons au luth et airs de Cour français du XVIè s.*, 1934, p. XII-XVI, qui, d'ailleurs, ne paraît pas connaître le premier. Sous le nom d'Y. Rihouet, *Note biogr. sur Attaingnant*, Y. Rokseth fit ses débuts en musicologie en résumant pour la *Revue de musicologie* (No 10, mai 1924, p. 70-71) les découvertes d'E. Coyecque.

[2] G. Durand, *Invent. sommaire des arch. comm. d'Amiens*, t. VI, 1911, *passim*.

[3] E. Coyecque, *Recueil d'actes notariés....* t. 1, 1905, p. 3-4.

typographe. Plusieurs éléments nous permettent de montrer l'invraisemblance de cette hypothèse et d'affirmer en outre qu'Attaingnant ne fut pas seulement imprimeur de musique.

Dans le contrat de location de 1514, le bailleur se réserve le droit d'utiliser ses presses pour des « dominos ou excominimens ou pardons ou aultre choze semblable », ce qui est déjà le signe indéniable d'une activité consacrée d'une part au service de quelque juridiction ecclésiastique et de l'autre à la dominoterie. Dès cette époque Attaingnant est sans doute le fournisseur du Chapître de Noyon en fait de livres liturgiques. Si en effet l'on possède un Bréviaire de 1525 signé de son nom, on en connaît un de 1516 édité pour le même Chapître et qui présente avec le premier des caractères d'identité tels qu'il ne peut s'agir pour l'un et pour l'autre que d'un même typographe[4]. Le mariage qu'Attaingnant avait contracté vers 1520 avec Claude Pigouchet, fille d'un des plus importants et des plus remarquables éditeurs de livres d'*Heures*, Philippe Pigouchet, l'inclinait tout naturellement vers ces travaux; il avait du reste repris exactement le même emplacement que son beau-père, rue de la Harpe près du Collège de Dainville. Jusqu'à sa mort il poursuivit ce genre d'éditions: en 1541 il donne un *Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie Noviomensis*, en 1546 il réimprime le *Breviarum secundum usum insignis ecclesie Nov.*, et dans les biens qu'il laisse à ses héritiers figurent encore « Messelz, manuelz, Brevieres et Heures, le tout usage de Noyon » (Doc. 4 et 11). Il est probable que ses presses furent également utilisées pour les services de l'Université, dans le quartier de laquelle il était établi: une lettre de privilège, qui figure sur un recueil non daté de la bibliothèque de Vienne, qualifie Pierre Attaingnant d' « imprimeur libraire demourant a l'université ». Deux placards in-fol. à caractère pédagogique paraissent bien donner une explication à cette localisation: l'un, qui n'est pas daté, contient l'énumération en latin et en français des villes et fleuves des Gaules, Belgique, Celtique et Aquitaine; l'autre, sur lequel on lit la date de 1534, répond à la rubrique « Philosophia » et résume grossièrement pour des écoliers les différentes parties de cette science[5]. Tels sont les deux domaines auxquels se consacrait sans doute Attaingnant pendant la quinzaine d'années qui précéda ses débuts dans l'édition musicale.

Mais il n'en reste pas moins que la fortune et le succès lui vinrent

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[4] G. Lepreux, *ouvr. cité*, p. 59.

[5] Ch. Beaulieux, *Catalogue de la Réserve XVIè s. de la Bibl. de l'Université de Paris*, 1910, p. 141 et 232.

seulement le jour où, ayant pu réunir le matériel typographique qu'une longue tradition attribue au fondeur Pierre Haultin, il lança ces petits recueils qui vont en peu de temps répandre sur l'Europe les oeuvres des Claudin de Sermisy, Clément Janequin, Pierre Certon, Claude Gervaise, Th. Crecquillon et tant d'autres. De 1528 à 1549 une double série de treize livres de motets et de trente-cinq recueils de chansons va notamment sortir de la boutique de la rue de la Harpe, sans qu'aucun imprimeur ne s'essaie à concurrencer l'audace et la perfection de ce travail. Il faudra attendre le milieu du siècle pour voir Nicolas du Chemin (1549), puis Adrian le Roy et Robert Ballard [6] (1551) prendre la succession d'un éditeur qui en vingt ans avait réussi à inscrire une centaine de titres à son catalogue.

L'entourage de P. Attaingnant appartient à différents milieux. Tout d'abord ses collaborateurs directs: Poncet le Preux, beau-frère de sa femme, qui travaille avec lui aux éditions du Chapître de Noyon; surtout son gendre Hubert Jullet, probablement originaire de Bourgogne (Doc. 8), qui avait épousé sa fille Germaine et dont le nom figure à côté du sien sur les recueils de musique parus de 1537 à 1542. Un important document nous les montre en 1542, à l'occasion d'un baptême, en rapport avec Pierre Certon, depuis peu maître des enfants de choeur de la Ste-Chapelle, dont Attaingnant avait publié depuis 1533 plus de cinquante chansons, deux livres de motets et deux messes. Le 16 septembre de cette année en effet, Certon tenait sur les fonts baptismaux une fille d'H. Jullet, en compagnie de la femme de Mathurin le Beau, procureur au Châtelet, que Clément Janequin devait prendre plus tard comme exécuteur testamentaire (Doc. 2). Brillant rapprochement qui nous révèle tout à coup l'intimité qui régnait entre les plus fameux représentants de l'école musicale de Paris et leur éditeur! L'année suivante, celui-ci perdait sa femme, Claude Pigouchet. Un inventaire de ses biens, effectué le 25 juin à cette occasion, nous montre qu'il était devenu lui-même fondeur de caractères et qu'il avait considérablement accru le petit matériel avec lequel il débutait en 1514 (Doc. 4). Peu de mois après, il épousait en secondes noces Marie Lescaloppier (Doc. 6). Les années suivantes voient se succéder d'autres événements familiaux, heureux et malheureux: c'est en 1545 la mort de son gendre et associé Hubert Jullet, dont les enfants sont placés sous sa protection (Doc. 5); le 7 décembre 1547, sa fille Germaine se remarie à

[6] Nous préparons, en collaboration avec G. Thibault, une étude bio-bibliographique relative a ces éditeurs.

Jean Matheau, marchand boucher. Attaingnant désintéresse sa fille de ses droits à l'héritage de Jullet en versant aux époux la somme considérable de 2000 livres tournois, qui témoigne de la belle fortune du donateur (Doc. 8). De brillantes relations contribuent à asseoir sa réputation: des avocats, un procureur au Châtelet (Doc. 9), Clément de Cot, « praticien suyvant le Grand Conseil » (Doc. 10). Depuis 1538 Pierre Attaingnant a obtenu le titre d'« imprimeur de musique du roi », qu'il avait mérité en fournissant à la Chapelle du roi un important matériel de partitions religieuses et en éditant les oeuvres de nombreux musiciens de François Ier, tels que Sermisy, Certon, Gascongne, Vermont et Sandrin.

Attaingnant, qui effectue encore une transaction à la fin de l'année 1551 (Doc. 10), mourut sans doute en 1552; l'année suivante, en effet, parut le *Premier livre contenant XXVI chansons nouvelles... imprimées par la veufve de Pierre Attaingnant.*

Paris.

nouuellement imprime en Muſique a quatre parties, en ung
liure ſeul, par Pierre Attaingnant, Imprimeur
de muſique du Roy, demourant a Paris
en la Rue de la Harpe, pres
legliſe ſainct Coſme.

DOCUMENTS JUSTIFICATIFS

1. 1541, 31 janvier (n. st.) — Baptême de Jeanne, fille de Pierre Aleaume, bonnetier, demeurant sur le pont Notre-Dame. Parrain: Regnault Aleaume, chirurgien; marraines: Jeanne Magdelain, femme de Pierre Petit, marchand de vin, et Claude Pigouchet, femme de Pierre Attaingnant, imprimeur de musique.

Registres de la parroisse St-Jacques-de-la-boucherie, d'après Bibl. nat., *nouv. acq. fr. 12040.*

2. 1542, 16 septembre. — Baptême d'une fille d'Hubert Jullet, libraire, et de Germaine Attaingnant. Parrain: Pierre Certon, maître des enfants de la Sainte-Chapelle marraine: Marie de la Rue, femme de Mathurin Le Beau, procureur.

Registres de la parroisse St-Benoit, d'après Bibl. nat., *nouv. acq. fr. 12127.*

3. 1543, 13 septembre. — « Honnorable homme Pierre Atignan, marchant libraire, bourgeois de Paris, demourant rue de la Herpe, confesse avoir ceddé, quicté, transporté et délaissé en tout a tousjours a honnorables personnes Pierre Aleaulme, marchant bonnetier, Marye Attignan, sa femme, et a maitre Hubert Jullet et Germaine Atignan,

sa femme, filles dud. Pierre Atignan et de feue Claude Pigouchet, jadis sa femme, lesd. femmes absentes et lesd. Aleaulme et Jullet ad ce présens et acceptans tant pour eulx que pour leursd. femmes, leurs hoirs, tous telz droictz qui aud. ceddant a cause de lad. deffuncte Claude Pigouchet, sa femme, qui a esté héritiere pour moictié de feue Germaine Pigouchet, jadis femme de Poncet le Preux, pevent... compecter et apartenir tous et chacuns les biens meubles, debtes, créances et autres biens généralement quelzconques demourez apres le déces et trespas de lad. deffunte Germaine Pigouchet, seur de lad. deffuncte Claude Pigouchet, de laquelle Germaine icelle deffunte Claude Pigouchet a esté héritiere pour moictié comme dict est, quelque part et en quelque lieu que lesd. biens seront trouvez et assis, ensemblement ceddé et transporté la somme de XXXI l. XIIs. t., restant de la somme de XLVIII l. VIIIs. t. a luy deue par led. le Preux, a cause de marchandise de livres par led. Attignan baillez et délivrez aud. Poncet le Preux; pareillement leur a ceddé et transporté toutes les actions demandées et poursuittes qu'il avoit et povoit avoir a cause de ce qui est, tant a elle que dud. le Preux que tous autres... Cestz cession et transport faictz a la charge que lesd. Aleaulme et Jullet ont promis et seront tenuz acquiter led. ceddant de toutes et chacunes les debtes, obsecques et funérailles, en quoy led. Attignan eust peu et pourroit, est tenu a cause de ce... Fait et passé triple comme dessus ».

« Honnorable homme Jehan Began, marchant, bourgeois de Paris, lesd. Aleaulme et Jullet confessent avoir respectivement promis et promectent l'un d'eulx a l'autre de fournir.... aux fraiz et mises qu'il conviendra, chacun en leur regard, fournir et frayer en certain proces intenté allencontre de Poncet le Preux, pour raison de la succession de feue Germaine Pigouchet, jadis femme dud. Poncet le Preux, de laquelle led. Began a cause de Collette Pigouchet, sa femme, est héritiere pour moictié et lesd. Alleaulme et Jullet, tant en leurs noms a cause de leurs femmes que comme ayans droict par transport de Pierre Atignan, leur pere, pour l'autre moictié.... Faict et passé triple comme dessus ».

Arch. nat., *Minutier central, LXXIII,* 3

4. 1544, 31 mars (n. st.). — « Du XXXI et dernier jour de mars mil V^c^ XLIII avant Pasques. Furent présens en leurs personnes honnorables hommes Pierre Attignant, marchant libraire et imprimeur de musique, bourgeois de Paris, d'une part, Pierre Aleaulme, marchant bonnetier, a cause de Marye Attignant, sa femme, et Hubert Jullet, aussi imprimeur de musicque, a cause de Germaine Attignant, sa femme, lesd. Marye et Germaine, héritieres de feue Claude Pigouchet, leur mere, jadis femme dud. Pierre Attignant, leur pere, d'autre part, lesquelz... confesserent.... qu'ilz respectivement auroient et ont bien agréable ung inventaire faict faire a leur requeste le lundy XI jour de juing l'an mil V^c^ quarente troys par Nicolas Dupuys et Denis Dryet, freppiers et priseurs de biens jurez a Paris, et autres dénommez en la titulation dud. inventaire des biens demourez apres le déces et trespas de lad. deffuncte et qui estoient entre led. Attignant et lad. deffuncte au jour de son trespas, lequel inventaire a la requeste des dessusd. Pierre Attignant, Aleaulme et Jullet, apres que led. Attignant a affermé ne scavoir autres biens apartenant a la succesSon de lad. deffuncte Claude Pigouchet, jadis sa femme, que ceulx inventoriez aud. inventaire, a esté signé des notaires au Chastellet de Paris soubzsignez, voullans et consentans par lesd. parties que led. inventaire vaille et sortisse son

plain et entier effect, force et vertu, et comme s'il avoit esté par deux notaires du Chastellet de Paris.... se sont tenuz et tiennent pour bien contens, comme d'inventaire bien, deuement, justement et solempnellement faict.... Lesd. Aleaulme et Jullet confesse avoir eu et receu dud. Attignant, leurd. beau-pere, chacun leur juste part et portion de tous et chacuns les biens meubles, ustancilles d'hostel, d'imprimerye, fonderye, livres de musicque et autres livres, biens meubles, debtes, lettres et créances.... Iceulx Aleaulme et Jullet pour leursd. portions se sont tenuz et tiennent pour bien contens et en ont quicté et quictent led. Attignant..., a la réservation touteffois de certaine quantité de *Messelz* usage de Noyon estans en la possession de maitre Arthus Sandrin, aud. Noyon, et d'une ceddulle monitoire a la somme de cent LXIIII l. XIX s. t.... Fet et passé triple comme dessus ».

« Led. Aleaulme confesse avoir eu et receu dud. Attignant la somme la quarente sept livres huict solz neuf deniers t., assavoir la somme de XXXV l. XVI s. t., pour telle part et portion des ustancilles cy apres déclarez qui luy apartenoit a cause de lad. Marye, sa femme, par la succession de lad. deffunte Claude Pigouchet. C'est assavoir les ustancilles d'imprimerye, comme des grosses presses, chassis, frisquettes, autres nottes, casses, matieres a fondre, lesd. livres et nottes, et de tous les ustancilles de fonderye ayant fourneaux, cuillieres, estocz, lymes, marteaulx et enclumeaulx servans au mestier d'imprimerye et fonderye qui furent prisez et inventoriez par l'inventaire qui en fut faict le lundi XXV jour de juing mil V^e^ XLIII, d'une part, et unze livres douze solz neuf deniers tournois, aussi pour telle part et portion que a cause que dessus luy povoit apartenir en autres ustancilles d'imprimerye et fonderye, comme poinçons, matrices, mosIles a fondre lettres et nottes, et autres ustancilles d'imprimerye et fonderye qui, lors dud. inventaire, furent oublyez a inventorier... Fet et passé double comme dessus ».

Arch. nat., *Minutier central, LXXIII, 4.*

1545, 18 avril. — « Furent presens et comparurent en leurs personnes honnorable homme Pierre Atygnant, libraire, bourgeois de Paris, demourant rue de la Harpe, et Germaine Atignant, veufve de feu Hubert Jullet, en son vivant imprimeur et libraire a Paris, demourant en lad. rue de la Harpe, en leurs noms, led. Atignant et veufve comme tuteurs et curateurs des enffans myneurs d'ans dud. deffunt Hubert Jullet et de lad, vefve, d'une part, et Françoys Charbonnyeres, laboureur demourant a Saint-Germain-des-Prez-lez-Paris, a présent prisonnyer es prison du Chastelet de Paris, d'autre part, disant lesd. Pierre Atignant et Germaine Atignant esd. noms que pour le paiement de quatre muys de bled, froment venduz ausd. Atignant et Jullet par led. Charbonnyeres et un nommé Julle Bersan... venduz moyennant la somme de cent livres... led. Charbonnyeres, personne retenue es prison, et sa femme de luy auctorisée en ceste partie, qui s'est dit aagée de XXV ans dans le moys de may mil V^e^ quarente quatre dernier passé, et vénérable et discrette personne maitre Vallentin Charbonnyeres, prebtre, demourant a Moyssy l'évesque, ad ce présent ont confessé et confessent debvoir bien et loyaulment ausd. Atignant et vefve... la somme de six vingtz livres t. pour les causes cy-apres déclairées, laquelle somme ilz ont promis et seront tenuz, promectent et payent chacun pour le tout... ».

Arch. nat., *Min. centr., CXXII,* 1312.

6. 1545, 21 avril. — « Honnorable femme Marye Lescailloppier, a présent femme de honnorable homme Pierre Attaignant, marchant libraire, bourgeois de Paris, et avec

lequel elle dict n'estre commune en biens, confesse que au lieu de Nicollas Junel, mercier demourant a Paris, elle est a présent détempteresse et propriéteresse d'une maison et petit jardin servant de court, le lieu ainsi qu'il se comporte assis a Sainct-Germain-des-Prez-les-Paris, rue de Casset.... sur laquelle maison dessud. déclarée Raoulline Cheradame, vefve de feu Estienne Rolliers, a ce présent a droict de prendre et percepvoire par chacun an a tousjours aux quatres termes a Paris accostumez quatre livres tournois de rente... Faict l'an mil V^c XLV, le mercredi XXI jour d'avril ».

Arch. nat., *Min centr., XLIX, 30.*

7. 1546, 22 mars (n. st.). — « Du mardi XXII jour de mars Vc XLV. Honnorable femme Marye Lescallopier, femme de honnorable homme Pierre Attaignant, marchant imprimeur, bourgeois de Paris, confesse quicte aux ayans droict de maitre Anthoine Dumesnil, est de présent détenteresse et propriéterresse d'une maison, court et jardin, le tout cloz de muraille, tant alentour le lieu comme il se comporte assis a St-Germain-des-Prez-lez-Paris au lieu du *Casset*, tenant d'une part aux héritiers et ayans cause feu Honnoré Chevalier, d'autre a Guillaume Mareschal, maître scelier lormier, bourgeois de Paris, a cause de l'acquisition par lui fete de Ysrael Roze, aboutissant d'un bout aud. Mareschal et d'autre bout aux héritiers feu maitre Jehan Cherondance, led. Mareschal comme ayant droit dud. Roze a droict de prandre et percepvoir par chacun an... quarante cinq s. t. de rente ».

Arch. nat., *Min. centr., LXXIII, 7.*

8. 1547, 7 décembre. — « Furent présens en leurs personnes Jehan Matheau, marchant boucher, demourant a St-Germain-des-Prez-lez-Paris, pour luy et en son nom, d'une part, et Germaine Attaignant, vefve de feu maitre Hubert Jullet et fille de honnorable homme Pierre Attaignant, marchant bourgeois de Paris, aussi pour elle et en son nom, d'autre; lesquelles parties.... en la présence et du consentement dud. Attaignant, pere de lad. Germaine, honnorables personnes Jehan Begin, marchant bourgeois de Paris, et Nicole Pigouchet, sa femme, tante de lad. Germaine, et de Pierre Aleaulme, beau-frere d'icelle Germaine et aussi en la présence de honnorable homme Pierre Tubeuf, marchant boucher, bourgeois de Paris, demourant aud. St.-Germain-des-Prez, beau-frere dud. Matheau, recongneurent et confesserent avoir promis et promectent prandre l'un d'eulx l'autre par loy et nom de mariage... en faveur et contemplation duquel mariage led. Pierre Attaignant a promis.... payer ausd futurs maryez... la somme de deux mil livres tournois.... et ce pour tous et chacuns les biens meubles, debtes et créances, de quelque qualité qu' ilz soient, héritages, rentes et arrérages d'icelles qui pouroient et peuvent comporter et apartenir a lad. Germaine a cause de la communaulté d'entre elle et led. deffunt maitre Hubert Jullet, jadis son mary, assis tant au pays de Bourgoigne que ailleurs, avec les arrérages, deniers et despens a lad. vefvre deubz par Poncet le Preux, a cause de la maison en laquelle il est demourant, la part et portion a lad. Germaine apartenant en lad. maison, touteffois demourant en proportion a lad. Germaine; desquelz biens meubles, héritages, rentes, arrérages et deniers a lad. vefve apartenant a cause de lad. communaulté comme dit est, lesd. futurs maryez feirent et par ces présentes font cession et transport aud. Pierre Attaignant au nom et comme tuteur et curateur des enffans myneurs d'ans dud. deffunct Jullet et de lad. Germaine,... Et oultre, moyennant

lad. somme, ont iceulx futurs maryez ceddé et transporté aud. Attaignant oud. nom de tuteur la somme de cent solz t. de rente a lad. vefve apartenant de son propre et icelle deue par Guillaume Tron et Nicolas Attaignant, demourant a Saigy[1], pres Ponthoise, pour en joyr par led. Attaignant pour et au nom d'iceulx myneurs.... Et partant a led. Matheau doué et doue lad. Germaine, sa future espouse de la somme de six cens soixante et six livres t. en douaire préfix et pour une fois payer... Et ne sera led. Attaignant tenu rendre aucun compte ausd. myneurs dud. deffunct Jullet et de lad. vefve des arréages des rentes a eulx apartenant.... Faict et passé multiple l'an mil cinq cens quarente sept, le mercredi septiesme jour de décembre ».

Arch. nat., *Min, centr., LXXIII, 11.*

9. 1548, 7 juillet. — « Pierre Chalemeaulx, advocat a Herny-le-Chastel, y demourant, Esme Chevillart, advocat en la Court de Parlement a Paris, et Nicole Ezelin, procureur au Chastelet de Paris, confessent avoir vendu et constitué... a honorable homme sire Pierre Attaignant, marchant libraire, imprimeur de musicque, bourgeois de Paris, a ce présent achepteur et acquesteur pour luy, ses hoirs, vingt cinq livres t. monnaies courantes et présentes de rente annuelle..., et speciallement y a led. Ezelin obligé et ypothecqué, oblige et ypothecque une maison a luy apartenant... rue de la Harpe, ou pend pour enseigne *le Pillier vert*.... ».

Arch. nat., *Min. centr., LXXIII, 12.*

10. 1551, 3 octobre. — « Honnorable homme Pierre Attaignant, marchant bourgeois de Paris, ou nom et comme procureur de maitre Clément de Cot, praticien suyvant le Grand Conseil, confesse oud. nom estre detempteur et propriétaire d'une maison, court et jardin.... a St-Germain-des-Prez-lez-Paris, au lieu dict *Casset*, qui fut et appartint a Marye Lescaloppier, femme dud. Attaignant..., et que sur lad. maison et lieu honnorable homme Loys Bocart, sergent a verge,... a droict de prendre et prenoyt par chacun an au jour St-Remy soixante et cinq solz t. de rente annuelle.... ».

Arch. nat., *Min. centr., LXXIII, 45.*

11. 1554, 25 juin. — « Honnorable homme Jehan Matheau, marchant boucher, domourant a St-Germain-des-Prez-lez-Paris, confesse avoir vendu et promect garentir a honnorable femme Marye Lescalloppier, bourgeoise de Paris, vefve de feu Pierre Attaignant, en son vivant marchant libraire, imprimeur de musicque, aussi bourgeois de Paris, plusieurs sortes de marchandises comme Messelz, manuelz, Brevieres et Heures, le tout usage de Noyon, et Heures de Paris, grans Motetz, grans livres de messe et papier reglé que lad. vefve a confessé avoir eu et receu dud. Matheau et icellui avoir en sa possession pour en joyr. Ceste vente faicte moyennant la somme de deux cens dix livres t. que pour ce lad. vefve en promect... payer aud. Matheau en argent content.... ».

Arch. nat., *Min. centr., LXXIII, 20.*

12. 1558, 17 juin. — Guillaume Guiolin, libraire rue St-Jean-de-Latran, est tuteur et curateur de Pierre Jullet, fils mineur de feu Hubert Jullet et de Germaine Attaingnant, jadis son épouse.

Arch. nat., *Min. centr., LXXIII, 52.*

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[1] Cergy, à 3 Km. au S-O de Pontoise.